

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men. 888
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Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."⁴ I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation. 888
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Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried 888
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⁴ The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be. 888
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888 on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women.
 565 If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age,
 589 and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in
 • [434] society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some
 [788] notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a uni-
 versal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of
 this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is
 some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness
 with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance
 placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate
 with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the
 end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but
 it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as
 many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend
 many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and fu-
 nerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States
 where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to
 775 achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many
 621 religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this
 is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral be-
 cause the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality
 because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a
 very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official
 of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty
 years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have
 changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's fu-
 neral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if
 they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and ex-
 presses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between
 people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a
 common residence in the same locality.

764 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who
 621 teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of
 her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the
 bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride
 in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she
 might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the cere-
 mony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no
 choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning
 after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

592 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major pur-
462 chases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transporta-
tion, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the house-
hold. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair
• (434) dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because
511 they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a
subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the
city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range
that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
[264] in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other
in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their
[369] male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten
[264] during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among
salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish
[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average
rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food)
every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm prod-
ucts used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this.
For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One
political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as
many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household
to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the
ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to pur-
chase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of
the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from
thirty cents to about \$1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the
senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.¹

592 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have
261 often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He
571 would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join
576 him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have com-
plained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends
and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they
simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat
continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their
services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts
to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and
if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[434] ¹ Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate
of \$2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

78 • THE ECONOMIC LIFE

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six
months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
434 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
592 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in
areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other
areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farm-
ers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluc-
tuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few
years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater
household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may inter-
fere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil de-
pletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase
or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect
the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same
household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers pro-
duce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Ma-
gumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the
other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approxi-
mately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many
in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon
help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts
in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is
always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times
help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such
men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate
241 by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
571 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity
caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
571 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[107] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

82 • THE ECONOMIC LIFE

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to with-
stand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

• 434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production
in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves
by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen
estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet sea-
sons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in
terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork
most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on
an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important
source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.

434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three
kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most
of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or
those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious
specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get
higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
591 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest de-
terminant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see
some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed
with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's
father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows ground-
nuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman,
Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his
father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great
deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's
and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead
contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the in-
formation to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own house-
hold close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his
father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village.
Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of
Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two
miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire fam-
ily moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet
which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

HOUSEHOLDS AS PRODUCERS • 83

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craft-work do not produce much beyond \$150 to \$200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

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84 THE ECONOMIC LIFE

463 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them
592 to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a
571 skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continu-
553 ous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who
554 wander through the area.
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Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.

[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—
[241] as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them
[264] to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also
[434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's
592 meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep
571 and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the
253 time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before
159 the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the
434 market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have
[221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has
[572] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

DISTRIBUTION . 85

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately \$450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continuous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

90 · THE ECONOMIC LIFE

442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
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[521] dope business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

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AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima*; they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

- [434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about \$1200 to \$1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

243 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months
221 of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when
the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans,
243 okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions.
312 These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where
there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by
hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers
to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria,
and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri fam-
ilies, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet;
in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts
442 as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading com-
434 panies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Ground-
nut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the
433 world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Ka-
• 434 nuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the
Kanuri villager.

433 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They
233 keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take
out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in
the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but
433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam
233 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in
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433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
 233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
 563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
 233 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
 relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they

[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
 on the other hand, have very little in common with the Kanuri
 agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
 interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
 Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
 easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
 are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
 extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
 ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk

[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
 sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for

439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
 237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
 433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an

[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
 Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.

• [434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.

ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

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222 Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (*Acacia arabica*).

The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Gel-dam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
• [434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men.

In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.

[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasuqu, or
[364] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

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political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

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This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's revealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend." ⁽¹⁾ Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials." ⁽²⁾ The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mastering out pay of the returning soldiers had hit Bornu unprepared. ⁽³⁾

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In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946

(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947

(3) Pedlar, P.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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[589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant.

The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

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581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.

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437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of entersame (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

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• 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

583 This determines
• 434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule
occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this
traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's
marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic
advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the
time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication
that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to
become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has
enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent super-
iors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow
money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.

583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining
subsistence of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is
the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of
sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, enter-
tainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdona, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even
acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small
stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends
nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived com-
pletely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to
three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the
water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest
that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and
become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
• [434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age,
the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing
petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own
garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing
it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market
stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-
time occupation.

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565 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds
of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high rank-
ing man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries,
and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade
during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermedi-
aries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

- 556 but that in Owonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of
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829 Magumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked
• [434] why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about
fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops.
- [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages"
[465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It
was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked,
"What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mention-
ed the District Head of Magumeri who earns officially seven hundred
pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who
live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Owonyiri
were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he
said "att a'l gadi gadi" (that is something different) because "sandi
kan gadi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristo-
crat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kan birni (a city man)
but "amma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's
birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society
made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different
from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his con-
cept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range,
and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along
any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this
to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to de-
scribe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same eth-
nic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

12 (1) in choosing households. An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of
592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the house-
592 hold, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking
• [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

- [114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, *SJA*, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, *SJA*, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

241 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the Dis-
 433 trict Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been
 given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection
 duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
 [571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to
 the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH
 he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates
 or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
 464 a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this
 [586] primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
 (1)
 [571] year. Numbers and nature of barsum subordinates again help determine
 the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is
 large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
 [476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group
 (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and
 about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political
 (2)
 and religious specialists, use this source of supply. Finally, for
 those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily sal-
 aries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

• [434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
 241 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure avail-
 464 ability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those
 571 with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties
 or working barsum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).

(2) See below p. 305.

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and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

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Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work

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from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its

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way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal

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adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-

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lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the manufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-

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ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

• 434

The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits, (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128] These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondent in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of <u>tada njima</u> per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3

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The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependent upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practice craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada niima. Apprentices are in-
cluded in this category since they are subordinate to the household
head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a prim-
ary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are

434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the hus-
bands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash
income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both
men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural
duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work

434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate
members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new whole-
sale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kag-
umeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu
which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife
and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister,
an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to
and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger
brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time.
The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats
with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calcu-
lated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of
thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season,
he does not produce for the market at all, but takes private orders
which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly
production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost
of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/-
or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him
a cash income of approximately £45.0.0, when this is added to his crop
production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at
£86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Be-
sides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if
he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his
living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his
present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter
of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossiping and
moralising about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful
look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami
spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening
to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common
fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his
fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when
working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

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592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

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[443] For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 1/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the
 463 same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week
 435 during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per
 • 434 week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in
 the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales
 of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d.
 to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above
 figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional in-
 come of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when
 the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but
 butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/-
 per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income
 from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between
 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price
 he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0.
 for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission"
 because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging
 to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation
 of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about
 £167.0.0.

434 However, he does not actually take in all this income as
 [452] cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others
 come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He com-
 plained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into
 account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he
 could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

• 434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of property by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

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In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

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For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of millet flour (*penisetum typhoideum*) made into porridge or dumplings (*buri argumbe*) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries,
perfumes, etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales
from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to
his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina
receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and
as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which
are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had
only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for
another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last
year he found that his buying price was £20.0.0 less per ton than other
• [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 commission (from re -
ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or
£80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He
also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not
estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual per-
iod of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam
Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and
sign his name.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated requirement of 2250 per day. [146] As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

- 434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

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571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of barzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

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571 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

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open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

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3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

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Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

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Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

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To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

178 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism.
 441 Ultimately the unrecognized law status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status. (1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 It is because of the very low consumption level that there
 • 434 is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested (2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entrepreneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.

(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[130] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in
the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual
[177] trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long
history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and
there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply
by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
433 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
241 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented
44 by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
• [434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming
activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

THE SUCCESS THAT FAILED

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turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

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The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kentuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

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The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

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The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

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